

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 11863 01 OF 02 031016Z
ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 11863

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT CORRECTED)

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 2, 1978
(SALT TWO-1829)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, AUGUST 2, 1978

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION WILL ADDRESS SOME QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3--ON THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS--AS WELL AS ON ARTICLE VIII OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

- I

AS YOU KNOW, AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS AT A DIFFERENT LEVEL, A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED, ACCORDING TO WHICH HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE FROM 600 TO 2,500 KILOMETERS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 11863 01 OF 02 031016Z

ARE COUNTED, LIKE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, IN ONE OVERALL 1,320 LEVEL. IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS VERY DEFINITELY THAT NO OTHER AIRCRAFT, INCLUDING TRANSPORT AIRPLANES, MAY BE EQUIPPED WITH SUCH MISSILES. THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE RELEVANT PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, AS WELL AS ARTICLE VIII OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL THAT NO HEAVY BOMBER, AS DEFINED IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY, MAY BE EQUIPPED WITH MORE THAN 20 CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION, ALSO MEETS THE OBJECTIVES OF ESTABLISHING EFFECTIVE AND STABLE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

IF THE NEW AGREEMENT WERE TO ALLOW FOR THE POSSIBILITY IN THE FUTURE OF EQUIPPING BOMBERS FOR MORE THAN 20 CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, THIS IN FACT WOULD MEAN AN UNRESTRAINED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS RACE IN A PREVIOUSLY NON-EXISTENT AREA--LONG RANGE CRUISE MISSILES. BUT IS IT NOT THE OBJECTIVE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT AND REDUCE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS?

THE NUMBER OF MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, WITH WHICH ONE BOMBER/CARRIER COULD BE EQUIPPED, CANNOT BE UNLIMITED. I REPEAT THAT WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF SUCH MISSILES MUST NOT EXCEED 20. EVEN THIS NUMBER IS VERY HIGH, BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH SUCH A SOLUTION IN THE INTERESTS OF REACHING JOINT AGREEMENT. THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT GO ALONG WITH INCREASING THIS NUMBER EVEN BY ONE.

ATTEMPTS TO EVADE THESE LIMITATIONS, I.E., TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 11863 01 OF 02 031016Z

OBTAIN THE RIGHT TO DEPLOY AN UNLIMITED NUMBER OF CRUISE MISSILES, ARE UNEQUIVOCALLY VIEWED BY THE SOVIET SIDE AS AN EFFORT TO CIRCUMVENT AND IN EFFECT EMASCULATE THE UNDERSTANDING IN THE HOPE OF OBTAINING A UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. NATURALLY, THE USSR CANNOT AGREE WITH THIS.

THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE AND IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED ITS IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY.

I MUST AGAIN DRAW THE U.S. SIDE'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT BANNING THE DEPLOYMENT OF CRUISE MISSILES ON TRANSPORT AIRPLANES, AS WELL AS LIMITING THEIR MAXIMUM NUMBER ON A BOMBER/CARRIER, FOLLOW DIRECTLY FROM THE EXISTING JOINT AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES, AND FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II,

PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A DRAFT AGREED STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT CURRENT BOMBERS, WHEN THEY ARE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, MUST HAVE EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE FEATURES WHICH DISTINGUISH THEM FROM SIMILAR BOMBERS NOT EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES AND, CONSEQUENTLY, NOT SUBJECT TO BEING COUNTED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V, PAR. 1, OF THE DRAFT TREATY. THIS PROVISION MEETS THE U.S. INTEREST TO THE EFFECT THAT IF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF B-52 BOMBERS IS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 11863 02 OF 02 021851Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 11863
EXDIS

RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, NOT ALL B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES. THIS PROPOSAL WAS TABLED BY THE SOVIET SIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE U.S. SIDE'S ACCEPTANCE, IN PARTICULAR, OF A MUTUAL OBLIGATION LIMITING THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES FOR WHICH A HEAVY BOMBER COULD BE EQUIPPED FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION.

- III

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY US TODAY WILL LEAD TO A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION OF CERTAIN STILL OUTSTANDING PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT. EARLE

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